

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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The Readers of the Register are informed, that the sheet containing the INDEXES of Volume XXIII, and also the sheet containing the Indexes of Volume XXIV, are now printed and ready for delivery; so that those Gentlemen, who wish to have those Volumes completed and bound, may now have it done as soon as they please.

The Register will in future be published at 10 o'clock on Saturday morning.

NOTIFICATION.

For some time past; indeed, for some years past, the state of this country, and of all Europe, has been, as to politics, such as to offer but very meagre materials for discussion. On the one side we have seen nothing but the boundless dominion and influence of France on the land, and, on the other, a similar dominion and similar influence of England on the sea and sea-coasts of Europe. The discussions, or, rather, the remarks (for there has been little room for discussion) have been confined, in this country, to mere invectives against France, on the one side, and, on the other, to such slight efforts as some few persons have dared to make, in order to check the growth of the prejudices which such invectives were calculated to propagate and to nourish, not against France only, but against every known principle of freedom. To meddle with our own *internal state*, in a way that the conductor of this work wished to do, no man has dared; nor does any man now dare. To notice cursorily any public wrong; to censure in a mild manner; to express a thousandth part of what the case calls for, and that, too, almost in parables, is to beggar one's feelings; is to rob one's indignation; is to desert, and almost betray, the sacred cause of *Truth*, by making, in her name, claims so far short of her just demands.

In such a state of things, there seemed little hope of again seeing any room for exertion in that way, in which alone it was wished to make exertion in this work. But, a new and most interesting change having taken place in the affairs of Europe;

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a reverse of fortune with him who has, for so long a time, been the terror of European kings; a great, and almost general *concussion* being, according to all appearances, upon the eve of breaking out; a multitude of new topics, deeply interesting to mankind, starting now, every hour, forth for discussion, an irresistible desire to take part therein has led to a determination to devote not only more time and attention to the REGISTER than it has had bestowed on it for some years past, but more than it has had bestowed on it at any former period. There are times, when it becomes the duty of men to make, in part at least, a sacrifice of their taste for retirement; and, such a time the present seems to be.

But, besides time and labour, there requires, in order to give effect to the intention above spoken of, *space*; more space than this work, as now conducted, will allow. It is, therefore, intended, to exclude, in future, all the *Public Papers* and other official documents, except those of very great and general interest, and the insertion of which is absolutely necessary to a clear understanding of the discussions relating to them. This will give room for that original matter, which the crisis promises to call for; it will enable one to catch the subjects as they rise; and to leave very few of great importance wholly unnoticed.

In times like the present, when the great questions, not only of peace and war, but of liberty and slavery, with all their ramifying causes and effects, are to be discussed, a considerable part of the time of those, whose object is to make a stand on the side of expiring freedom, more than to secure any private advantage from their labours, must necessarily be employed in combating that part of the press, which is incessantly labouring for the destruction of all that ought to be deemed most valuable in civil society; that part of the press (forming nineteen twentieths of the press in this kingdom), which is incessantly employed in habituating the minds of the people to all those notions, which have a tendency to make them base as well as foolish, and, in the end, to render this

country what one of our poets has described another to be: "A land of tyrants and a 'den of slaves.'" Nor, must the reader suppose, that it is here meant to speak of the *news-paper* part of the press only. The remark and description applies, and, perhaps, with a smaller proportion of exception, to all those *books* and *pamphlets*, whether individual or periodical, which treat of the subject of politics, or matters closely connected with politics: as history, biography of public men, law, religion, military and naval undertakings and establishments, political economy, and the like. To face, and to make head against, or, at least, to expose, this part of the press, which, though a slower-motioned, is, perhaps, a more sure engine for permanently blinding the eyes, debasing the minds and corrupting the hearts of the people, has always been a much-desired, and may now be, in some degree, a practical object. It is not to be supposed, that *all* the works of the above description can even be *noticed* in consequence of the additional space that will be obtained; for, by the aid of sources so powerful as those to which they might here be traced, they are forced out in such abundance as even to overwhelm a public greedy of novelties and enamoured of delusion; but, at any rate, some of the most mischievous of these works may be met and counteracted; or, at the least, the public may be put upon their guard with respect to them; while, on the other hand, such works, upon the subjects above mentioned, as appear likely to produce beneficial effects, may be described and recommended.

To state precisely the *mode of arrangement*, which will be given to the proposed future contents of this work would be unnecessary. The nature of the contents is alone material. But, it is necessary distinctly to state, that *communications from correspondents will not be wholly excluded*; for, it would be great presumption in any conductor of a periodical work to suppose, that no one is able to aid him in the execution of any thing intended for the public good. Yet it is as necessary to lay down certain rules, as to the admission of such communications. The first of these is, that their insertion, or rejection, must, in all cases, be understood to be left entirely to the judgment and discretion of the person to whom they are offered: and this for two very obvious reasons; first, because, the very act of addressing them to him necessarily supposes a submission to his judgment; and, second, because on him lies

all the responsibility, literary and legal, for promulgating them to the world. And, that he may freely and impartially exercise his judgment, *no communication should be accompanied with the real name of the author.* —Another rule is, that correspondents should, whatever may be their feelings, so far master them as to refrain from every thing that may, in any degree, leave a pretence for legal accusation. How many valuable papers! What volumes of useful information; of fine reasoning: of noble exertion in the cause of freedom and truth, have been committed to the flames, in order to get rid of the perilous temptation, because it was impossible to separate the reasoning from the *facts*; because it was impossible to separate public good from the personal danger of doing it! In looking back upon the destruction of these masses of useful labours, one is ready to fling the pen from one for ever, and to shut one's eyes against every thing in the shape of letters. It is, however, obvious, that every correspondent should constantly bear in mind, that a publication is not, in this country, *less libellous* because it is *true*; and that libel is a crime, punished with more severity than the greater part of felonies.—A third rule, though of less consequence, is, nevertheless, necessary to be observed by all correspondents; namely; to convey their sentiments and facts, in a *legible hand*, writing in an *illegible hand* being much about the same, as to the effect, as writing in an incomprehensible style, or in a language which no one but the writer understands. The first object of writing, as of speaking, is to be understood: how blameable, then, must be that negligence, or how much worse than contemptible that affectation, which produces, under the name of writing, an assemblage of marks, which puzzle the heads and waste the time of the persons to whom they are addressed, and who generally avenge themselves by resorting to the use of the flames!—It is only necessary to add, upon this head, that no communication will be inserted, unless addressed to MR. BAGSHAW, the Publisher, the postage being paid. This is the regular channel. To make use of any other is attended with great inconvenience.

The *motives* to this revival and extension of exertion have been truly stated at the out-set of this address. With motives, however, the public have little to do. It is the principles, the reasoning, the facts, in which they are interested. The question always ought to be: is this *just*; is this *true*; is this *right*? And not, whence

legal, And, exercise could be author. students, so far thing etence luable inform- ertion have order to because sioning possible personal ck upon useful n from against It is, condent that a less libel is y than third never- by all their hand, much writing a lan- under- as of flame- ze, or e that r the marks, the time essed, es by —It is , that unless ishier, regu- ther is en- sion at the tives, o. It facts, ques- st; is whence

comes this? *Who* has put it upon the paper? To eradicate the prejudices, which, by the means, principally, of a hireling press, have been so widely spread and so deeply implanted, is a task which it would be madness to hope to accomplish; but, it is not too much to hope, that they may be checked in their growth; that they may be impaired in their strength, and that their

natural fruit, slavery and misery, may be diminished. At any rate, though the attempt should wholly fail, he who makes it will have the satisfaction to know, that he is one amongst those, who have a right to say, that they are free from all share in the degradation of the country, while they are at worst, in no worse a state than their neighbours.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

EULOGIUM ON GENERAL MOREAU.—

“What!” the Reader will, perhaps, exclaim, “have you not already sufficiently ‘demolished him; cannot you now suffer ‘his torn and tattered reputation to sink ‘out of sight; must you still rake him up ‘to our view; have you no bowels even ‘for the dead?”—It is not I who have raked him up. It is his eulogist. The act is that of the Russian agent and of the English translator. His *ashes* are said to have been so dear to the Emperor Alexander, that he has ordered them to be carried to Petersburgh. There they might have remained for me; but, it having been thought proper to rake them up and throw them in our faces; it having been thought proper to make Moreau the subject of an high-wrought eulogy, through the channel of the English press; it having been thought proper to hold forth a man, who lost his life in fighting against his native country, as an *example* to be imitated, it becomes the duty of every one, who is able, to endeavour to counteract the effect of such eulogy, especially at a time, when our own government is insisting upon the right of treating as *traitors* all those, who, though citizens of America, are found in arms against us, even upon the American shores. It is well known, that, only a few months ago (not two years) some British subjects were sentenced to the most horrid of deaths for fighting on the side of France against us. Ought we not, therefore, to be very cautious how we suffer a man to be applauded for fighting against his own country; it being very clear, that, generally speaking, if such an act be praise-worthy in one man, it cannot be criminal in another man?—I have much to say upon what the Memoir of the Russian agent states with regard to the last months of Moreau’s life; but, let us first discuss the question in a *legal* point of view; for, if his conduct would have made him a *traitor* in the eye of *our own* law, it is most wicked, and most inhuman,

to hold him forth as a person, whose conduct Englishmen ought to admire.—The Memoir says, that the Duke of Cumberland was amongst those who went to compliment Moreau, and that the King of Prussia told Moreau, that he “*admired* “the MOTIVES which had urged him to “*repair to the army of the Allies.*”—Such being the language and the assertions; such being the *example* held forth to the soldiers and sailors of this country and to all its inhabitants, it seems necessary, it seems to be an imperious duty, in those, who, like myself, abhor traitors, and, of course, wish to prevent my countrymen from being seduced into the commission of treasonable acts, to state, upon this occasion, what the law of England is, in this respect, and to prevent my countrymen from being tempted, upon any occasion, to follow the example of General Moreau.—

According to our law, *any native of this kingdom or its dependencies, who shall be found in arms against the forces of this country, by land or sea, is considered as a traitor*, and is liable to the horrible punishment, which I shall, by-and-by, more particularly describe.—To constitute this crime, the highest that our law knows of, it is not necessary, that the guilty party assist in an *invasion of the country*; or, that he assist in making any *attack upon the country directly*. If he be found in the service of the enemy (having *voluntarily* entered it), whether on the sea, or on the land, at the furthest corner of the world, he is still deemed to be a *traitor*, and to have justly incurred the penalty of an ignominious death. We have two recent cases in point. In May, 1812, seven men were condemned (out of 59 accused) as traitors, at the Sessions House in Southwark, for having been found, at the Isle of France, in the service of Napoleon. They had been prisoners of war to the French, and had *voluntarily* entered into their service.—The other case is that of the British-born subjects, lately taken by us in the American army, serving in Ca-

nada. These persons appear to have become citizens of the United States; but, our government, in spite of the remonstrances of the Americans and in spite of all their threats of retaliation, has persisted in regarding these persons as *traitors*, and our Commander in Chief in Canada has not only stated, that he will retaliate two-fold the retaliation of the Americans, but he has, at the same time, told his army, that, in this proceeding they will not fail to see a striking proof of the paternal regard of the Prince Regent, who has, in an official declaration, distinctly stated, that no British-born subject can ever cease, *while he has life*, to be a British subject; and, of course, that, under no circumstances whatever, can he voluntarily take up arms against our forces by land or sea, without incurring the charge of *high treason*.—When, therefore, we take these principles of our law, and these awful practical illustrations of it, into view, we are astonished to hear Moreau applauded to the skies; we are astonished to see him represented as the most faithful, the most noble-minded, the most virtuous of men; and, it is impossible not to believe, that there is great danger in the holding forth of such a man as an *example* to the world.—He was not a prisoner of war, like the sailors in the Isle of France; he was not a settler in and citizen of, Russia or Germany, as the soldiers taken in Canada were of the American States; he was not a man ignorant of his duty; he was pressed forward by no temptation of rescuing himself from suffering like the sailors in the Isle of France; he had in Russia or Germany no property or family to defend as the soldiers taken in Canada might have. No: he was far distant from the scene of action and of danger; and, as the Memoir states, he came from America, he crossed the Atlantic, for the express purpose of serving the Emperor of Russia against the armies of his native country.—The Chief Baron, Macdonald, when he passed sentence upon the Isle of France traitors, observed, that their offence was *much greater than that of Murder*; “for,” said he, “how much more aggravated a crime is it “to aid and assist the enemy in their efforts “to destroy a whole people.” Thus, you see, this was the extent given to the tendency of the crime, though the miserable men were found upon an island in the South Seas.—And what was their punishment? “To be drawn on a hurdle to the “place of execution, there to be hanged by

“the neck, *not till they were dead*, but to “be cut down, and whilst *yet alive*, their “bowels taken out, their heads cut off, “their bodies cut into quarters, and those “quarters to be at the disposal of the “king.”—Such was the punishment of men, who, being prisoners of war, entered into the service of the enemy in the Isle of France.—Now, what is urged in defence of the eulogized Moreau? That it was not against *France*, but against *Napoleon*, the oppressor of France, that Moreau went to fight. But, has it ever been known, that any man was acquitted on such ground? If such a pretext could avail, no man, serving against his country, could ever be found guilty; for no one would ever want such a pretext. Was such a ground of defence wanting to any of the persons executed for treason in Ireland? They all alleged the same ground; but did that avail them aught? Did that save any one’s life? In short, if you set up this as a defence, you, at once, make every man the judge of the occasion when he shall take up arms against his country; and yet, you must do this, or it is impossible for you to justify Moreau upon such ground.—There is, however, another ground; but, I imagine, it will not be found more solid than the foregoing. It is this. That Napoleon is an *Usurper*; that he is *not the lawful sovereign of France*; and that, therefore, Frenchmen have a right to make war against him, in order to get rid of his usurpation.—Now, though a *royalist* Frenchman might, with some apparent reason, put forward such a ground of defence, Moreau seems to have had no right to do it, though the Allies had been making war with the avowed purpose of overthrowing an usurper. But, the awkward circumstance is, that the power, into whose service he had entered, and in whose service he lost his life, *had twice, by solemn treaty, recognized Napoleon as Emperor of the French and King of Italy*. All the Allies, except England, had, by treaty, recognized him in this character. England had recognized him, while First Consul, as the legal sovereign, *de facto*, of France, and such he had been declared to be in the English Court of King’s Bench. Nay, since the death of Moreau, and even to this hour, the Allies, one of whom became a Crown Prince through his influence and at his nomination, have, in their public declarations, styled him the *Emperor of the French*, and, *in that character*, have tendered him terms of peace, and avowed

their intention of leaving him an extent of territory greater than France, under her kings, ever knew. And, in the face of all this, will any man pretend to say, that Moreau fought against an *unlawful ruler*? Will any man attempt to deny, that Napoleon is in fact and in law too the sovereign of France?—What, then, as to this important point, is the obvious conclusion? Why, that our laws of treason; that all the laws of treason existing in Europe, are monstrously unjust and horribly cruel; or, that there is no justification for General Moreau, if the Russian Memoir give a true account, if his *eulogist* give a true history of his conduct from the time that he left the American States.—I have dwelt longer upon this head than I, at first, intended; but, once entered on the subject, it would not have been right to leave any doubts with regard to an example, which, in its probable consequences, was likely to be so fatal to individuals, and so injurious to the country.—But, this is not all. We must leave no part of this eulogy undemolished; we must leave no assertion that it contains without a suitable comment. We must follow the hero of this curious history from America to the field of battle. But, first, we must go back, for a little, and keep him company a while, in the conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges; because, in my haste to conclude, last week, I omitted to introduce a most material document relating to this most important transaction of Moreau's life.—At the time when Moreau was confined in the Temple, under the charge of having conspired with Georges and Pichegru, *he wrote a letter to Buonaparté*, which letter was published in the *Moniteur*, and was re-published in most of the public prints in England. This document I am now about to insert; and, when the reader has gone through it with attention, he will have the goodness to follow me in a short examination of its contents, as compared with the statements now put forth by his *eulogist*.—The passages worthy of particular attention I have pointed out by the use of *italic characters*.

AUTHENTIC LETTER OF GENERAL MOREAU
TO THE FIRST CONSUL.

The Temple, May 7, 1804.

It is now near a month since I have been detained as an accomplice of Georges and Pichegru, and I am, perhaps, detained to

appear before the Tribunals, and vindicate myself from the charge of Conspiracy against the safety of the State, and against its Chief Magistrate.—I was far from expecting, that after having passed through the Revolution and the War, free from the slightest reproach of incivism or ambition, and more especially, after having been at the head of great and victorious armies, which would have given me the means of satisfying such passions (if I possessed them), that it would be at the moment when I was living a private life, only engaged with my Family, and only seeing a very *small circle of friends*, that I could be accused of *such an act of madness*. I have no doubt but that my former connexion with General Pichegru has been the motive of my accusation.—Before I speak of my justification, permit me, General, to trace this connexion to its source, and I doubt not but you will be convinced, that the connexions which one may keep up with an old friend, and a man who has been formerly one's Commander, however divided in opinion, and however attached to different parties, are far from being criminal.—General Pichegru took the command of the Army of the North at the beginning of the second year of the Republic. I had been then, for six months, a General of Brigade, and sometimes discharged the functions of General of Division. Pleased with some successes of mine, and with some military dispositions, he soon obtained for me that rank, the duties of which I at that time discharged.—In entering upon the campaign, he gave me the command of half the Army, and confided to me the most important operations.—Two months before the end of the campaign, his ill health obliged him to absent himself from the Army. The Government then, upon his request, intrusted me to finish the conquest of Dutch Brabant and Guelderland. After the winter campaign, which made us mas-

ters of the rest of Holland, he went to the Army of the Upper Rhine, and marked me as his successor; and the National Convention intrusted me with the command which he then resigned. A year after, I replaced him at the Army of the Rhine; he was called up to the Legislative Body, and our correspondence was no longer frequent.

—In the short campaign of the 5th year, we took the papers belonging to the **Etat Major** of the Enemy. They then brought me a quantity of papers, which General Dessaix, who was then wounded, amused himself with reading. It appeared by this Correspondence, that General Pichegru had been in correspondence with the French Princes. This discovery gave us much uneasiness, but to me more particularly. We agreed to let it rest in oblivion. Pichegru, in the Legislative Body, had less means of hurting the common cause, as Peace was their ruin. I took precaution, however, for the safety of the Army against that system of espionage which might have ruined it. The researches that I made, and the deciphering of this Correspondence, has placed all those pieces in the hands of several persons.—The events of the 18th Fructidor were then announced, and the public anxiety was very great: in consequence of which, two officers, who were informed of this correspondence, prevailed upon me to inform the Government of it, and gave me to understand, that it had began to be pretty public, and that at Strasburgh they were already preparing to inform the Directory of it.—I was a Public Functionary, and I could no longer keep silent; but without addressing myself directly to the Government, I informed the Director Barthelemy, confidentially, of it, begging of him, at the same time, to give me his advice, and informing him, that those pieces, although undoubtedly authentic, could not be proved in a Court of Justice, as they were not signed, and

mostly in ciphers.—My letter arrived in Paris a very short time after Citizen Barthelemy had been arrested; and the Directory, to whom it was sent, demanded from me the papers of which it made mention.

—Pichegru then went to Cayenne, and from thence to Germany and England, without my having any correspondence with him. Some time after the Peace with England, M. David, uncle to General Souham (who had passed a year with him at the Army of the North) informed me that General Pichegru was one of those banished in Fructidor, and that he was astonished at hearing that it was from my opposition alone that you refused to permit his return to France. I replied to M. David, that so far from opposing his return, I should make it my business to solicit for him this permission. He shewed this letter to some persons, and I have learnt that the demand was positively made to you.

—Some time after M. David wrote to me, “that he had applied to Pichegru to demand of you directly to be erased from the list; but that he had answered, that he would not make the demand, unless he was certain that it would be complied with;” that moreover, he desired him to thank me for the answer I had given, and to assure me, that he had never supposed me capable of acting in the manner that was imputed to me; that he even knew, that in the affair of the correspondence of Klinglin, I had been placed in a most delicate situation. M. David wrote me three or four more unimportant letters on this subject. After his arrest, he wrote to me to take some steps in his favour. I was very sorry that the distance between me and the Government prevented me from giving some light to your justice in this respect; and I do not doubt but it would have been easy to have removed that prejudice which had been given you upon this subject.—I no longer heard Pichegru spoken of, except

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indirectly, and by persons whom the war obliged to return to France. From that epoch to the present moment, during the two campaigns in Germany, and since the peace, there have been distant overtures made to me, to know whether it was possible to prevail on me to enter into correspondence with the French Princes. I considered these proposals *so ridiculous, that I did not even make any answer.*—As to the actual conspiracy, I can equally affirm, that *I am far from having the least share in it.* I confess even that I am at a loss to conceive how a handful of individuals, dispersed, could hope to change the face of the State, and to restore upon the throne a family that the combined efforts of all Europe, and of Civil War, could not succeed in restoring, or how it can be supposed, that I could be so void of reason, as to join in such a plan, *by which I should lose the whole fruit of my labours*, which would only in such case *draw upon me continual reproaches.* I repeat it to you, General, that whatever proposition was made to me, I have rejected from opinion, and *always considered it the greatest folly*; and when it has been represented to me, that the chances of the Invasion of England were favourable to a change in Government, I replied, that the Senate was the authority round which all Frenchmen would unite, in case of troubles, *and that I would be the first to obey its orders.* Such overtures made to me, an insulated individual (who had not chosen to preserve any connexion, either in the army, of which nine-tenths had served under my orders, or with any constituted authority), could obtain *no other answer than a refusal.*—The part of giving information to Government was repugnant to my character, an office which is always judged of severely; it becomes odious, and marked with the seal of reprobation, against the man who is guilty of it, with respect to persons to whom he owes

gratitude, and with whom he has had long habits of friendship. Duty even may sometimes yield to the cry of public opinion.—This, General, is what I have to say, as to my connexion with Pichegru; they will surely convince you, that very false and hasty conclusions have been drawn from actions, which, though, perhaps, imprudent, were very far from being criminal; and I have no doubt, but that if, by your authority, I had been asked for explanations on those points, which I would have readily given, it would have saved you the regret of ordering my detention, and me the humiliation of being imprisoned, and, perhaps, obliged to go before the tribunals, and say that I am *not a Conspirator*, and to appeal, in support of this vindication, to the uniform probity of my life for the last 25 years, and to the services I have rendered to the country. I will not speak of those, General: I can say, they are not yet effaced from your memory; but I will recal to your recollection, that if ever the desire of taking part in the Government of France had been the aim of my ambition and of my services, the cover was open to me in the most advantageous manner before your return from Egypt, and surely you have not forgotten the disinterestedness with which *I seconded you on the 18th of Brumaire.* Enemies have *kept us at a distance since that time.* It is with much regret that I find myself compelled to speak of myself or my services, but at a time when I am accused of being the accomplice of those who only considered of acting *under the guidance of England*, perhaps I may have to defend myself from the snares which that Power may prepare against me. *I have self-love enough to suppose, that England may judge of the evil which I am still capable of doing her, by what I have already done.*—If, General, I can gain your full attention, then *I shall have no doubt of your justice.* I shall

await your decision on my fate with the *calm of innocence*, but not without the uneasiness of seeing that those enemies which are always attracted with celebrity, have triumphed.—I am, with respect

The General MOREAU.

Now, reader, if, as I must presume, you prefer truth to falsehood; if you abhor the act of giving the highest of praises to the foulest of deeds, follow me, for a moment, while I compare the contents of this letter with the statements of the Russian Memoir.

—In my last Number, at page 111, I quoted the Memoir, at full length, as far as related to the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru. Referring you, then, to that extract, what do we see? Why, we see, that the Russian Eulogist states, that Georges and Pichegru were in Paris for the purpose of *carrying off* Buonaparté; that Moreau was made acquainted with their designs; that the project, besides, was to *restore the Bourbons*, the necessity of which Moreau did not dispute, but *wished to prepare for it by gradations*; that Moreau secretly *desired the success* of the project; and, finally, that Moreau “*agreed*,” that the others should begin the thing, and that “*in case of success, he should place himself in advance with his party*, to protect them “*against the measures, which the partisans of Buonaparté might take, at the first moment, to avenge him.*”—To “*avenge him*,” mind! What! to *avenge him* of being *carried off*?—But, let that pass; for no one can doubt, for a moment, *what* it was that the conspirators meant to do to Buonaparté.—Here, then, we have the confession, the open avowal, the boast even, that Moreau had agreed to lend his assistance, and that of his party, to a plot for carrying off Buonaparté and for restoring the Bourbons. This is asserted, mind, by his *eulogist*; by a man who says, that he was his companion in his last moments, and that he had been the person who accompanied him from America.—Now, then, what does Moreau say, in his letter above inserted? Why, he says, “*I am far from having the least share in the conspiracy.*” He says, that he must be void of reason to join in a plan by which he would *lose the whole fruit of his labours*, that is to say, his *money* and his *estate of Grosbois*, which he had bought of Barras; that, if Buonaparté had been absent, during any such attempt, he, Moreau,

would have been *the first to obey the orders of the Senate for the preservation of the Government*; that the overtures made to him had obtained *no other answer than a refusal*.—These were his solemn protestations in 1804; and these protestations are directly in the teeth of the assertions, of the confessions, the avowals, now made, in his name, by his *eulogist*.—But, besides the light, in which these facts place him, we find Moreau, in the letter above-inserted, considering the conspirators as *acting under the guidance of England*, from whence they had come to France; and, we find him, too, imputing the *false accusation* against himself to *the snares which England might have prepared against him*, observing, that he had “*vanity enough to suppose, that England might judge of the evil which he was still capable of doing her by what he had already done.*”—When he wrote that letter, he little suspected, I dare say, that he was one day to sail from America with the connivance of an English Admiral, and still less, that he was to become the subject of the praises of every man in England and in Europe hostile to the glory and prosperity of France.—Yet, all this is not enough; for, while the Russian Memoir asserts, that, in *a few days after* the 18th Brumaire, Moreau feared he had assisted in giving a tyrant to his country, and that he found Buonaparté to be cruelly and inexorably unjust; while the Russian eulogist asserts this, Moreau, in the above letter, makes *a merit*, in 1804, of having seconded Buonaparté on the 18th Brumaire, 1799, expresses his *regret* that *enemies* have lately kept them at a distance from one another, and declares, that if he can obtain a full hearing of Buonaparté, he has *no doubt of his justice*.—Now, either Moreau acted, upon this occasion, not only the part of a conspirator; he was not only guilty of high treason, and worthy of an ignominious death, but, he was also, a mean and despicable hypocrite; OR, the assertions of his Russian Eulogist are base and abominable fabrications.—Let the author and the patrons of this eulogy take their choice.—Well, then, have we not now enough of this “*modern Coriolanus*,” as the Times news-paper, I think it was, called him the other day; this Coriolanus of *Grosbois*? Have we not now enough of him? Yes; we have quite enough for Moreau; but, not quite enough for *me*. Since I have begun him, I am resolved to finish him. Justice demands it: justice to the people of England, and justice to the people of France.

145] rolling by the wealth to say who king Robe parté invasion amount this way. harver vests as have God which who v ple, o immer comm Lord, child, whom dered — T * The which Number clusive 6. A sand of Eleazar strumen hand. 7. A the Lo the mal 8. A the res and Rel they sle 9. An men of took the flock, 10. A they dw 11. A prey, be 12. A prey, a priest, of Israel which a 13. Q all the p meet the 14. A the host captain battle.

—We have before seen him in America, rolling in wealth, and we have now seen, by the letter from the Temple, that that wealth was *the fruit of his labours*; that is to say, the fruit of his service under those who made the republic, and who put the king to death; under the Girondists, the Robespierreans, the Directory, and Buonaparté; or, in other words, the fruit of his invasions of foreign countries, the aggregate amount of *his plunder*.—I am not using this word in any odious sense. I am not insinuating any blame in him for having amassed a great deal of property in this way. Plunder is the soldier's legitimate harvest, and we know what abundant harvests of this sort we read of in *Holy Writ*, as having been expressly commanded by God himself, a memorable instance of which we have in the case of the Midianites, who were first stript, by God's chosen people, of *all their goods and chattels* to an immense amount, and were then, by the command of Moses, the servant of the Lord, all slaughtered, man, woman, and child, except the *maiden women*, or girls, whom Moses, the servant of the Lord, ordered the army to *keep alive for themselves*.*

—Therefore I am very far indeed from

* The passage of the inspired writings, to which I here refer, is found, in the Book of Numbers, Chapter XXXI, verses 6 to 18, inclusive, as follows:

6. And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of *every tribe*, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow, in his hand.

7. And they warred against the Midianites, as the **Lord** commanded Moses; and they slew all the males.

8. And they slew the kings of Midian, besides the rest of them that were slain; *namely*, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian; Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword.

9. And the children of Israel took *all the women* of Midian captives, and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods.

10. And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles with fire.

11. And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, *both of men and of beasts*.

12. And they brought the captives, and the prey, and the spoil unto Moses and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which are by Jordan near Jericho.

13. ¶ And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without the camp.

14. And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host, *with the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds*, which came from the battle.

calling in question Moreau's fair claim to his plunder, and am by no means inclined to deny his right to the quiet possession of *Grosbois*, which he *bought of Barras*. But, if we allow Moreau's right to *his* share of the plunder which he made, I hope we shall be too just to reproach the other Marshals of France on that score. The Duke of Dalmatia and the Prince of Essling have certainly as much right to *their* share of plunder as Moreau had to *his* share of plunder. It is impossible to load the former with the reproach of rapacity, without, in the same breath, condemning the latter.—We are told, in the Memoir, that Moreau would have left the United States somewhat sooner than he did, had it not been for a circumstance, which is slipped over in great haste in the Memoir; but which we must dwell upon with some care, it being not only of great importance, but of the very *first* importance, in the making of our estimate, not of *Moreau's* character (for that is settled, I think), but of the character of Napoleon, as viewed, at bottom, by Moreau himself.—The Memoir tells us, that in *Mademoiselle Hulot*, now *Madame Moreau*, whom he married in 1802, “were combined all the qualities of the “mind with all the graces of beauty, brilliant talents, and solid virtues.”

Very well.—Then it tells us, that this lady, while her beloved husband was in the Temple, was, “with her infant in her “arms, made to wait in the open air, in a “cold and rainy season” (month of *May*) “until it was convenient for the jailer to open “the gates;” and that, “sometimes, she passed whole hours, exposed to the inclemency “of the weather, unless when the sentinels “allowed her to get under their sheds.”

—It is strange that this should have been; seeing, that Moreau was possessed of an ample fortune, and that there are all sorts of carriages and hackney coaches at Paris as well as in London. The fact, therefore, is a very strange one; but, agreeably to my mode of proceeding, I will

15. And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive?

16. Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the **Lord** in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the **Lord**.

17. Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him.

18. But all the women-children that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves.

not call it in question. I admit it to be *true*, till it be confronted by some other fact from the same source.—Upon this ground, then, and others stated in the Memoir, Moreau regarded Napoleon as the *most cruel of men*. Napoleon is said, in the Memoir, to have been so jealous of Moreau as to have *thirsted for his blood*. In short, the Memoir makes Moreau speak of and regard Napoleon as the *most bloody and inexorable of mankind*, while his government was a government of spies and bastiles.—The Memoir says, besides, that Moreau deeply deplored the *enslaved state of his country*; and predicted, that, on this account, the French would become more despicable than the Jews.—Here, in these sentiments, observe, we are led, by the Memoir, to look for the *cause of Moreau's coming to Europe to serve against France*. And, now for the circumstance that retarded his departure from America. His wife and child, whom, we are told, he loved to an excess of tenderness; that same amiable and beautiful wife, who, with the same beloved child in her arms, had been so cruelly treated at the gates of the Temple; these two "*cherished beings*" (to use the words of the Memoir) were, at the time of Moreau's departure from America, WHERE, think you, reader? They were not with the good, the affectionate, the fine-feeling, the "*angelic-souled*," General. But, where do you think they were? You will never guess They were IN FRANCE! Ay, in France! in that same France whose people were about to become more despicable than the Jews. Exposed to the inexorable cruelty of Buonaparté; nay, within his grasp. And, what is more, they had, as the Memoir avows, been in France *ten months*; ay, ten months, at the time when the angelic husband and father first thought of leaving America!—

"His heart," says the Memoir, "was agitated between his duty to his country, and the love he bore to his consort and child, who had both been in France *ten months* for the sake of their health. He shuddered to leave these two *cherished beings*, under what he called the *claws of the tyrant*."—Yes, yes; this is all very pretty, and we may expect to see the incident introduced into the next dish of nauseous nonsense which the London stage shall present to its soul-feeding customers; but, how came he to *send them to France*; how came he to *send them under those "claws?"* It is rather singular, that they,

considering how beautiful Madame Moreau was before she was married, and (if report say rightly) how beautiful she still is, and how inseparable health is from beauty, that she and her child should have both been in ill health at the particular time referred to. This is rather singular; but, suppose it to be true, why not send them to Madeira; to Lisbon; to Minorca; to Sardinia; to Sicily? Why not place them under the guardianship of our commanders? There were places enough to choose; and, if they must be sent away for their health's sake; if they were actually both afflicted, at one and the same time, with that sort of complaint which required a change of climate, why not choose amongst the countries I have mentioned? why not, if a more northern country was wanted, send them to these happy islands, the place of refuge of Pichegru, Georges, Dumourier, Sarazin, and others? Why send them; why send these "*two cherished beings*" to France, into the "*claws of the tyrant?*"—However, to France, they were sent; there they remained, as long as they pleased, unmolested; and, when they chose to come away, come away they did unmolested too, though they were coming to England; and though it is next to impossible, that the Emperor should not have been fully apprised of all their movements.—Now, then, reader, what are the conclusions, which truth and justice bid us draw from these premises? Why, either that Moreau was wholly destitute of all regard even for the lives of his wife and child; or, that he was guilty of base hypocrisy in describing Napoleon as a cruel tyrant; OR, that this Russian Memoir is, as to this matter, a string of atrocious falsehoods.—And, besides this, we have here the acknowledged and notorious fact, that the wife and child of a man, whom Napoleon had such strong reasons for disliking, were suffered to remain quietly in France as long as the wife chose, and suffered to quit France when she chose, without the least molestation; without any complaint to make, even against the police.—Can there be, if we take the whole of these facts together; can there possibly be, a more complete proof of the magnanimity of Napoleon; can the impartial reader want any thing more to convince him, that Moreau, who pretended that it was *duty* to his country that brought him into the ranks of Napoleon's enemies, had, at the bottom of his heart, a firm persuasion, that Napoleon was incapable of committing, *even against him*, an act of deliberate cruelty?—

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There can now remain no doubt as to the real character of the man, on whose eulogy I have been observing. If any thing were wanting to give to that character a finishing touch, it would be found in the fulsome, the disgusting, the loathsome, the nauseous adulation, which the Memoir says that this “*noble-minded*, this *angelic*” man paid to the Emperor of Russia and other princes, enemies of his country.—Reader, behold this man, who once slept on beds made of the colours wrenched from Russia and Austria and Prussia, by his valiant countrymen under his command, and urged on by the cry of liberty; behold this man, this *Coriolanus* of *Grosbois*, now ranged on the side of combined kings against the armies of his country, exclaiming, at the first interview with the Emperor of Russia: “Ah! my dear Svinine, what a man is ‘the Emperor! from this moment I have ‘contracted the sweet and *sacred* obligation ‘of *sacrificing my life* for that *angel of goodness*;” behold this man, rebuking sharply a Russian General for calling the Emperor “the best of *princes*,” instead of calling him “the best of *men*;” behold this man, this great captain of the republican revolution, who asserted his *civism* even when in the Temple, discovering, at first sight, in the mind of the Grand Duchess of Oldenburg (the Emperor’s sister, I believe) “the Great Catherine herself, with a genius that astonished and “with manners that captivated all who knew “her;” behold this man, who, while in the Temple, told Napoleon, that he was vain enough to believe himself entitled to the hatred and the revenge of England, reciprocating the compliments said to have been paid him on his death bed by the Duke of Cumberland; to conclude, reader, behold this man, who owed his renown and his fortune to the arms of his valiant countrymen, receiving, while in the ranks of the enemy, his death-blow from the hands of those countrymen, and using his *last breath* in dictating a letter of praise to his new and “*angel*” of a sovereign!—Behold him thus, for thus the Memoir represents him to us; behold him thus, taking into view all the foregoing facts, arguments, and conclusions, and then pronounce decidedly and *aloud* your judgment upon his conduct and character.

MR. MANT AND CAPT. CAMPBELL.—I, some weeks ago, noticed a very serious dispute, existing between these gentlemen, both resident at Southampton, on the sub-

ject of *Prize concerns*, and stated, that I had learnt, that Mr. Mant was about to make a *publication* respecting it.—I now have that publication before me; and, from its contents, I am persuaded, that it must lead to serious investigation.—From this publication, it appears, that about five years ago (the publication being in point of dates very deficient), Captain Patrick Campbell commanded the Frigate, *Unité*, and had also the command of a squadron of cruisers in the Adriatic, and that Mr. Thomas Mant was the *surgeon* of the *Unité*.—It appears that Mr. Mant was sent to the town of *Trieste* by the Captain to manage the pecuniary matters, relating to *prizes*; and that the Captain has accused him, and perseveres in accusing him, of *peculation*, in that management. This charge the publication rebuts, and, as far as the proofs on one side can go, it does, I think, rebut the charge with success.—But, this is far from being the most important branch of the subject, which, indeed, would not have required my notice of it, had it not been for that other branch of it, in which the *public*, in which the *interest* and *honour* of the nation, appear to me to be deeply concerned.—To enter upon this important matter I must, however, have more room to spare than I have at present. I must, therefore, put it off till my next.

WHY ARE WE AT WAR WITH FRANCE? This is a question which few people will be at the trouble of asking, and which still fewer are willing to investigate, even although they could bring their minds to put it to themselves. I am not surprised at this reluctance, when I consider how often the enemies of France have changed their views, at least pretended to change them, respecting that devoted country. To enter into an exposition of all the absurd projects, and all the different plans laid down, from time to time by the Confederates, as necessary to be adopted by the French people, before they would acknowledge their independence, is a task which I do not intend to impose on myself. It is sufficient for my present purpose to state, that these projects always appeared to me deserving of contempt, and that for the best of all reasons, namely, that France, the party whose interest was more deeply involved in these proposed arrangements than all the other States of Europe, was never consulted respecting them. In one view her importance was regarded by these

States of sufficient magnitude to satisfy them that it would require the whole of their military strength to bring her to a compliance with their wishes; but, in another view, they would not allow that she deserved any consideration, when the questions came to be discussed,—Who were to be her rulers? What should be the limits of her territory?—But though I do not mean here to illustrate these topics; though I am disposed at present to spare these men the mortification, which a recurrence to them would occasion; I think it may not be amiss to carry them back to the commencement of the war; and to place before their view a few of those circumstances connected with that eventful period; many of which bear a strong resemblance to the occurrences of the present day, and cannot admit of an equivocal construction.—In 1792, the affairs of France were at as low an ebb as they are now represented to be, and then, as at this moment, her territory was invaded by the combined forces of Europe.—A resemblance so very striking, naturally carries the mind back to the early periods of the revolution; and if the causes of this similarity are impartially inquired into, we may perhaps find that the motives which actuate the conduct of the enemies of France in 1814, and those which influenced them in 1792, are not materially different. At the latter period, nothing was so much thought of, nothing so loudly talked of, and nothing so earnestly wished for, as the destruction of the revolutionists of France. The consternation, which an event that professed to carry with it so many terrors to the oppressor; which promised emancipation to the enslaved, and ultimately to deliver Europe from the grasp of civil and religious despotism, was well calculated to arouse from their lethargy those who felt interested in the continuance of established systems. Whatever may be said of the enormities which stained the early part of the French Revolution, or of the extravagant views of many of those who figured in that extraordinary scene, it cannot now be denied that, if the people of France had been left to themselves, the furor with which they were then agitated, and which is, perhaps, inseparable from great political convulsions, would have exhausted itself and subsided into a calm; that all the bloodshed, which has since desolated the earth, would have been prevented; and, instead of the torch of war blazing among civilized nations, mankind might have been universally cultivating the arts and sciences in the

bosom of peace. But, no; France had declared herself free: her sons had ascended that proud eminence which nature gave them a right to ascend. This, in the eyes of their oppressors, was treason against their authority; was a crime of the deepest die, which could never be forgiven. Liberty, which had “marshalled her way to “renovated France,” after she had in vain sought an asylum in other countries, was assailed in France by the cry of the despot; was here doomed to struggle for existence against the united efforts of prejudice, of superstition: against all which interest, which intrigue, and which the arm of power were capable of accomplishing. By a strange infatuation, millions of human beings, who assumed the name of freemen, gave their support to a cause, which its very partisans openly proclaimed to be inimical to the dearest rights of humanity; and actually sacrificed their lives for the declared purpose of imposing slavery upon a whole nation born like themselves to be free. It is a fact known to every man in the least acquainted with the history of France, that its government previous to the revolution, was one of the most despotic in Europe; that, in contrasting it with the British constitution, no one hesitated to pronounce it an absolute tyranny; and that the French people, who lived under it, were base and contemptible slaves. This was the opinion which universally prevailed among Englishmen; it was the theme of their public and private conversations; and it formed the topic of animadversion in every publication which contained any allusion to France. It cannot be supposed that this frequent recurrence to a subject so distressing, proceeded from envy, or that any man who reflected upon it, could be so destitute of all generous feelings as to wish this state of vassalage to be perpetuated. No; the sensation which universally prevailed, proceeded from the interest which every one took in the degraded condition of the people of France, and from a sincere desire to assist them in liberating themselves from so disgraceful a bondage. Accordingly, the moment it was known here, that attempts at freedom were making in France, the event was hailed by a vast majority of the people, and by many of the higher ranks, as propitious to the happiness of nations. Frenchmen had done no more than had been done by Englishmen. The latter had accomplished, by revolutionary means, the establishment of a constitution which imposed limits, and restrictions upon the power of the crown;

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the former had established a limited monarchy in France. What could be more desirable, what more congenial with the wishes of the inhabitants of Britain? We shall very soon, however, find that a party existed in this country, who were enemies to the rights of the people; who censured all attempts at ameliorating their condition. But as the favourable opinion entertained here of the French revolution, prevented its opposers for some time from declaring themselves, let us direct our attention for a little to the conduct pursued by the coalesced powers. It has been already observed, that an event of such magnitude as the revolution in France, was well calculated to alarm some other governments, particularly those in its immediate vicinity. Among these the Emperor of Germany was not the last who evinced his fears. Under pretence of maintaining the *inviolability* of the crown of France; dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed by the people upon the exercise of the sovereign power; stimulated by the clergy to insist for indemnity for the losses they had sustained by the new order of things; and afraid lest the example of France should have an effect upon his own subjects; the head of the Electorate prevailed upon the German Princes to enter into his views, and to make common cause against France, for the purpose of restoring the ancient government. At the very moment this resolution was adopted, the French people were peaceably engaged in forming for themselves a constitution, in which the right of the Bourbons to continue the sovereignty was unequivocally recognized. Louis the XVIth had no doubt incurred the displeasure of his subjects by attempting to escape from France, a circumstance, considering the state of the public mind, no way calculated to remove the suspicions entertained by many, that he was in secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and approved of their measures. But the nation were willing to overlook this. Their earnest desire was to see their country restored to liberty; and although they had received innumerable and repeated insults from surrounding states, they were inclined to submit even to these injuries, rather than give up the advantages which they promised themselves in a state of liberty and of peace. The Confederation which had reared its formidable head against them, was, however, resolved to oppose this. Application had been made in vain to the Emperor of Germany to withdraw from the league, and refuse his pro-

tection to the emigrants. Instead of complying with this request, he augmented his armies on the frontiers of France, which rendered it no longer doubtful that he meditated an invasion of the country. In these circumstances the National Assembly brought matters to an issue by a Declaration of War against Austria, in which, after enumerating her causes of complaint, it was stated, "that the French nation, "faithful to the principles of its constitution, which forbid it every kind of conquest, and from arming against the liberty of any people, is now arming only for its own freedom, its independence and its sovereignty." Had the Confederation been disposed to admit the justice of the principle, that no nation has a right to arm itself against the liberties of another people, Louis the XVIth might yet have been alive; the throne secured in the family of the Bourbons, and the war which has desolated Europe for more than twenty years, been averted. But the Allied Sovereigns, forgetting that the happiness of a people alone constitutes a monarch's greatness, regarded the recognition of these principles as a *new* crime committed by France; and because the government which she had chosen for herself, had resolved on *defending* her territory; this was held as a sufficient reason for inflicting the severest punishment that could be devised on all who had patriotism enough to give it their support.—What in every age of the world was esteemed the highest virtue; what in this country was so recently, and so strenuously recommended by our own government, by the senate, and from the pulpit, as the first of duties; the taking up arms to defend us from invasion; was considered in the French people a crime so enormous as to merit utter extermination. This threat was conveyed to the French nation, in a Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, as Generalissimo of the Allied Armies, dated Coblenz, 25th July, 1792. As this extraordinary and celebrated document serves more to lay open the views and designs of the coalition than any other part of their proceedings, and as I will afterwards have frequent occasion to notice its contents, I shall here give it at length, before proceeding any farther in my remarks.

" Declaration of his Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, Commander of the Combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, addressed to the Inhabitants of France.

" Their majesties the emperor and the

king of Prussia, having intrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

“ After arbitrarily suppressing the rights, and invading the possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorrain; after having disturbed and overthrown in the interior part of the kingdom all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred person of the king, and against his august family—those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party and of their emissaries.—His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his imperial majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and of his co-estates. It is under this double relation, that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

“ To these high interests is added another important object, and which both the sovereigns have most cordially in view; which is, *to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.*

“ Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his majesty, the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. It

is with this view that I, the underwritten, general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare,

“ 1st, That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

“ 2d, That *they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France*, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to ensure to his most Christian majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

“ 3dly, That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king; and that they will concur in the immediate restoration of order and police throughout all France.

“ 4thly, That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary,—on pain of being personally responsible: that, *on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the public peace.*

“ 5thly, That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

“ 6thly, That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities shall be equally responsible, *on pain of losing their heads and estates*, for their crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders, and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most Christian majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrange-

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“ 7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under their safe-guard and protection; and estates, their property, and their persons shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

“ 8thly, The city of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his and to all royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns: their imperial and royal majesties, making personally responsible for all events—*on pain of losing their heads pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon*, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of the peace, and others whom it may concern; and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuilleries be forced or insulted, if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their majesties, the king, queen, and the royal family, if they be not immediately placed in safety and set at liberty, *they will inflict on those who shall deserve it, the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction, and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved.* Their imperial and royal majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most Christian majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons

and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.

“ Finally, Their majesties, *not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France except those which shall be derived from the king*, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and the princes, of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and with this view, their imperial and royal majesties invite and entreat his most Christian majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the queen, and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his most Christian majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocation as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order and the regular administration of his kingdom.

“ In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed, every where, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation, those well disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who shall be guilty of resistance or of manifest evil intentions.

“ I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, *not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and show them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.*

“ Given at General Quarters at Coblenz, July 25, 1792.

“ CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND, DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.”

Such was the conciliating language held out to France by the Sovereigns of Europe: such the prospect which was presented to the people of that devoted country, if they dared to defend themselves against an army which threatened to occupy the kingdom, and to destroy every vestige of liberty: such the punishments denounced against *all persons whatsoever*, not merely for their own supposed offences, but for *all events*

occurring in France which their invaders choose to denominate crimes.

(To be continued.)

OCCURRENCES OF THE WAR.—Under this head I intend in future to notice every article of public intelligence, possessing an *official* shape, connected with the views and operations of the Belligerents.

From a dispatch of Lord Wellington's, published in last Saturday night's Gazette, it appears that the French, under Marshal Soult, had made an attack upon one of our positions near St. Jean de Luz, from which they drove our troops; but his Lordship having concentrated and moved forward a considerable portion of his army, "the enemy were forthwith dislodged, without loss on our side, and our posts replaced where they had been." A misunderstanding having arisen between us and the Spanish Government, it has been thought necessary to withdraw our troops from Cadiz and Cartagena. A letter of Lord Wellington's has appeared upon this delicate subject in the Lisbon papers, in which his Lordship says:—"I should have deferred this measure till the Spanish Government had made known to me its wish on this particular, if I had not read the libels which are circulated in Spain upon this subject, impeaching the honour and good faith of his Britannic Majesty; and if I had not perceived the efforts which have been made to persuade the public that the troops of his Majesty continued in those two places with sinister views; an assertion equally without foundation, and contrary to the honour of his Majesty, as clearly appears from the faithful relation of what passed on this point when the English troops were destined for Cadiz and Garthagena."

The Crown Prince of Sweden has at last succeeded in detaching the Court of Copenhagen from its adherence to France, and induced it to join the coalition against Buonaparté. This was announced by an official bulletin, and by the firing of the Park and Tower guns. I should have thought that the *particulars* of an event so *joyful*, would have been forthwith communicated to the public; but it has been thought otherwise; for, although a Gazette *Extraordinary* was published, announcing the fact that Mr. Thornton and the Swedish Minister had "signed Treaties of Peace with the Pleni-

"potiary of his Majesty the King of Denmark," both these documents have been withheld from the public eye. But if we may judge from the terms of the bulletin, the Danes seem to me to have made a better bargain than could have been expected in their circumstances. Although a considerable portion of their territory had been conquered by Sweden, at the expense of a good deal of blood and treasure, this has all been given up, and the same terms which were proposed before the sword was drawn, namely, the exchange of Norway for Pomerania, have been agreed to by Sweden. Great Britain is to retain Heligoland, and Denmark to furnish a contingent of 10,000 troops, for which she is to receive as an equivalent from this country a subsidy of £400,000 during the present year! Was it this last circumstance which occasioned the firing of the Park and Tower guns?

There has been some trifling affairs between the troops of the Allies on the Rhine and those of the French. A dispatch from Sir Charles Stewart, mentions an action which took place between the French, under Marshal Victor, and the Bavarians, under General Wrede, in which the former, in the first instance, are admitted to have gained some advantage, but they were afterwards obliged to retire. On the whole, it does not appear that the "march to Paris" has been very progressive since the Allies entered the territories of France.

The American President's Message to Congress, which was opened on 7th December, has reached this country. It is decidedly hostile towards Great Britain. The *Courier* says, "From a Halifax paper of the 15th, we learn, that an act for laying an embargo has passed by a large majority. This is one of the acts of suicide, to which the American Government has so frequently had recourse." I should have supposed that a single suicide would have been sufficient for their purpose.

☞ MR. CANNING has been, I perceive, making another Speech to the sons of war at Liverpool. I was in hopes that I should have passed the remainder of my life without more speeches of this frothy orator to answer. But, I must, for my sins, answer him again, which I promise to do in my next Number.